DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 178 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 881.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1]Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2]Curtis, II, 53, 72, 83, 92, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (c), 143; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 302; Bartlett, II, 282; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 96; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3]Kroeber, (c), 295.
[4]Lowie, (l), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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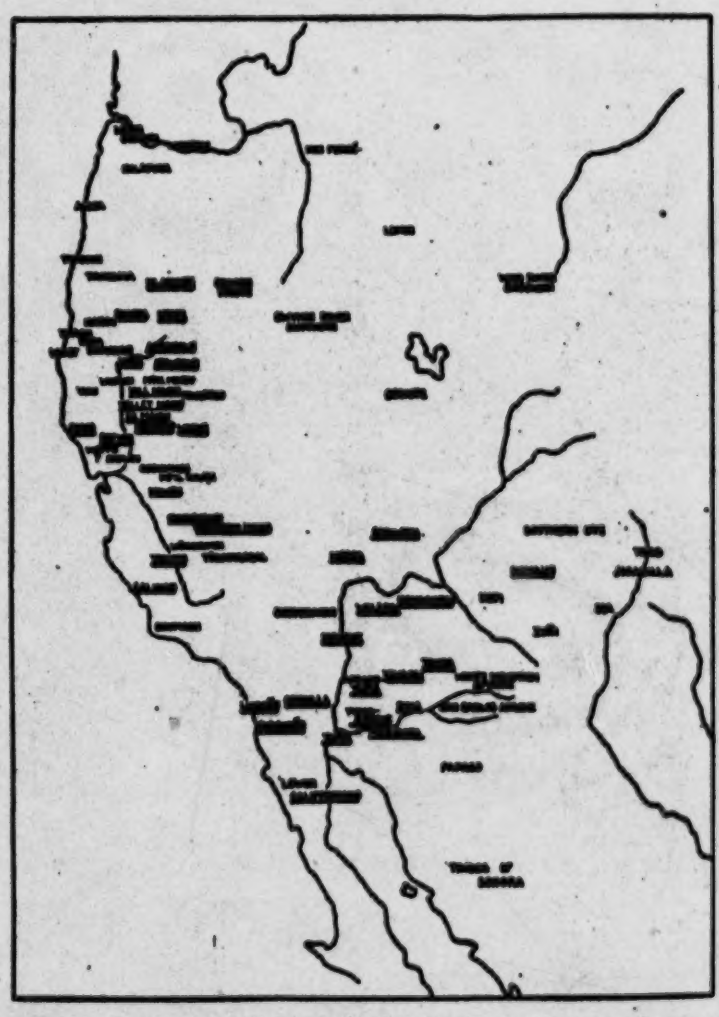

Fig. 84. Distribution of Cremation and Burial. Cremation occurs where names are underscored; areas where both practices occur (or where the evidence conflicts) are lightly underscored.

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Cremation occurs again in central and northeastern California. I find this on record for the Yokuts (but burial for the Wükchumni), Pomo, the Patwin near Clear Lake, Southern Maidu, Nemshoo,[1] Washo, Modoc, and Klamath.[2] Both practices are credited to a number of groups in this region. Cremation is favored by Salinan and Miwok, burial by Chukchansi and the Northern Maidu of the foothills. Two Western Mono groups (Balwisha and Waksachi) buried, but did cremate during at least one epidemic.[3] Burial is the regular form of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, Atsugewi, Achomawi, and Shasta, all of whom cremate those who die away from home. The evidence for the Yana conflicts. Certain Miwok (Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok) are said to bury. Wappo myths refer to cremation.[4] Kroeber, who commands unpublished data and is better able to interpret this material, indicates cremation for the Yahi alone among the Yana, burial for the southern Yokuts, and discards the Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok cases. In addition he notes cremation for the Western Mono, Chumash, Esselen, Costanoan, Coast Miwok, Wappo, and Huchnom. He is in doubt as to the connection of the Modoc with the central area, but I think continuous distribution between the two points is clear.

Burial is the custom in the remaining sections of the Southwest and California, and throughout the Basin. In the Southwest it occurs among the Hopi, Navaho, White Mountain, Coyotero, and San Carlos Apache, Zuñi, Sia, Taos, Jicarilla, and Papago; in Mexico among all the tribes of Sonora and the Huichol.[5] In California it occurs in a well-defined strip of country separating the central and southern areas of cremation. This includes Chumash, Tübatulabal, and Chemehuevi,[6] to whom Kroeber adds Kitanemuk, southern Yokuts, and Eastern Mono. Burial appears again throughout northwestern California: Patwin near the Sacramento, Wintun, Yuki, Wiyot, Hupa, Chimariko, Yurok, and Karok.[7] Kroeber adds Tolowa, Chilula, Wailaki, and Sinkyone. North-

[1] An offshoot of the Pah-Ute stock, living six miles east of Georgetown, Eldorado Co., according to Snyder (p. 328). This is in Southern Maidu territory, but the identification in the *Handbook of American Indians*, (II, p. 73) places them on upper Butte Creek in the Northwestern Maidu area.

[2] Powers, 105, 173, 182, 216, 226, 310, 323, 327, 341, 383; Barrett, (c), 439; Faye, 37; Hopkins, 64; Barrett, (b), 9; confirmed by R. H. Lowie, 1926. Barrett, (a), 288; Chatelet, (d), 29.

[3] Wükchumni and Western Mono data from Miss Ann Clayton. One informant told her that the Wassabi (the most westerly Mono) cremated long ago, but he may have been referring to Michahai Yokuts custom.

[4] Mason, J. A., (a), 167; Powers, 279, 349, 353, 356, 383, 437; Dixon, (a), 242-245; (c), 317; Lowie, (i), 281; cf. Yarrow, (a), 61; Dixon, (b), 165; Sapir, (d), 92, 194, 195; Mooney, (a), 235. (the material in this paper is open to doubt.)

[5] Hough, (d), 130; Curtis, I, 55, 80; II, 34; XII, 39; Yarrow, (b), 101, 111, 114, 123; Dorsey, (b), 127, 187; Shufeldt, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 454; the Navaho buried the enemy (Mexicans) dead (Pattie, 167); Hrdlička, (d), 492; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 144; Goddard, (b), 270; Gaillard, 294; Bandelier, (a), 251; Hrdlička, (b), 69; McGee, 200; Lumholtz, (c), II, 242.

[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 166; Kroeber, (f), note 13; Heye, (b); Powers, 394; Kroeber, (i), 342.

[7] Powers, 216, 226, 240; Mason, J. A., (a); Dixon, (d), 362.

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ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Gosiute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with those to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1875[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 857; Spier, (a), 275; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 86; Frachtve, 257. A burial in an unnamed tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1832–5 (Ames, *Burial Customs in Oregon.*)

[2] Lewis, (i), 279–280; Yarrow, (b), 127, 154, 181; Reagan, 31; Hopkins, 70; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lewis, (a), 214; Malouin, 262; Chamberlain, (a), 580.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 143, 158.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 13, 27, 62.

[6] Davis, (c), 94.

[7] Allen, 613. I have been told that it was common as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 337.

[9] Powers, 340.

1; Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";[4] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[5] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[6] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[7] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[8] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[9] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[4]Hoye, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 98.
[5]Powers, 269; "A long pole was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[6]For the latter see above, p. 279.
[7]Loeria, (i), 279; Curtin, [1], 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 781; Allen, 618; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trippel, 6; Hooper, 342; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 623 ff.; (r), 103, 107, 148; Sparkman, 256; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Powers, 164, 321, 328, 353-356, 394 391; Dixon, (a), 215 289; Barrett, (b), 9.
[8]The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (289) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[9]This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta [Dixon, (b), 236]. Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account [Kroeber, (d), 84; (r), 333; Powers, 164] and to the Southwestern Wintun [Barrett, (c), 426]. In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima [Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 168].

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171 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a
764 commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other
765 objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa,
769 Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they
765 are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring
769 annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 102, 103 ff.

[2] Teit, (a), 642; Hess, (a), 642; Teit, (a), 299, 333; (b), 273; Gibbs (292) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Salishan interested oblique or carved them.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly.

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task.

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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fragile as old lace. Branches of trees, roots and trailing vines, heavily encrusted with mineral, hung over and almost concealed the entrances to the caves. We broke off some of these and found the wood, in some instances, still green and alive underneath.

As we continued down the trail we rode to the rim again and again, unable to resist the wild beauty of our river, roaring with such violence through its narrow gorge.

We passed Crematory Gulch, a western branch of our canyon where the Indians had cremated their dead before accepting the practice of burying in a canyon nearer the school. A former employee once told me that he had visited Crematory Gulch and was surprised to find large Navaho blankets, undamaged by fire, medicine gourds, saddles and, most gruesome of all, the partly burned club of a man's graying hair. He fully realized the danger of desecrating an Indian cemetery, but slipped away with a shaman's gourd rattle. At the time he told me of his venture, he was hoping for an opportunity for a second visit, but whenever he made the attempt, an Indian appeared with disconcerting suddenness, and stood, watching, until he gave up the quest.

We rode to the brink to look down on Mooney Falls where the river roared in a solid column over a ledge higher than Niagara. The noise of its crash into the foaming pool below was deafening; the picture it made, hundreds of feet below us, was like a bit of toyland. Mineral accretions were plastered, like the halves of umbrellas, against the sides of the precipice. I knew that just below our feet were the dangling remains of the frail Indian ladder down which Lanoman and his friends had tenderly lowered his young wife to her funeral pyre. There, too, rested the bones of James Mooney, a sailor turned prospector, who with a few companions had tried to descend below the falls to locate abandoned mines, about which he had heard such fantastic tales. The rope they lowered over the precipice had been too short, and Mooney, the first to make the descent, fell to his death. As a tribute to his memory, white people gave the falls his name, but the Indians continued to use "Mother of the Waters." I thought of those two,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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the East, is deemed the only appropriate gear in which to meet the dread summons to Shi-pa-pu. When life is extinct the dressed-up body is wrapped in the best blanket the hawa affords, and is then ready for the period of wailing and mourning. Relatives and friends of the deceased come and sit in the hawa, and as the spirit moves them they raise their voices in lamentation, or, singing the bravery, the daring, the good deeds of the deceased, ask for him a safe journey to the dread secret places of the underworld. Nothing can be more doleful than to hear these sad lamentations in the dead of the night. All is still, except the never-silent stream which steadily keeps up its murmur as it flows over the stones. Otherwise the very Angel of Silence seems to be brooding over the scene, for the babble of the creek merely accentuates the nearly perfect stillness. Suddenly a loud, long, minor wail rises from the hawa in the midst of the willows, and one feels that he can see the sound ascend to the heights of these enclosing walls, striking here and there, and then rebounding to opposing walls, until the canyon is full of voices, wailing one against the other and making a spirit chorus of infinite sadness and distress. The imagination unconsciously suggests that these echoing wails are the sympathizing spirit voices of men and women — former inhabitants of this canyon of the willows — who have come to weep with those who weep for their dead loved ones.

There is no fixed period for this wailing, but as soon as it is satisfactorily concluded the body is tenderly thrown across the best horse owned by the deceased, if a man, — or ridden by her, if a woman, — and, accompanied by other animals conveying some of his or her most desirable treasures, is taken to the burial or burn-

3;James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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764 ing ground. Prior to the advent of the white man the Havasupais practised cremation, and between Bridal Veil and Mooney Falls, and also on the rim of the Grand Canyon, at a place since named Crematory Point, the 764 remains of scores of burned bodies of men and women 768 and also of horses were recently to be seen. For it was deemed of the greatest importance to give the spirit of the deceased the spirit of his dead horse, upon which he might ride to the dark abode of the underworld. Before it was burned, the horse must be strangled, and this was done by tightly tying a strip of wet buckskin around his neck, and, as it dried, it rapidly contracted and thus strangled the doomed animal. Then both human being and animal were burned.

But even this was not considered a sufficient offering to the powers of the dead. Returning to the village, a peach tree in the orchard of the dead man was cut down that it might also be "dead" and thus accompany its owner to the spirit world and give him its refreshing fruit there. On the death of a chieftain or great warrior, several peach trees — thapala — are cut down.

Of late years, however, these customs of cremation, strangling of horses, burning of treasures, and cutting down of peach trees have not been as universal as formerly. Hotouta, the oldest son of Kohot Navaho, the last of the old chiefs, had great influence with his people, and Mr. Bass succeeded in convincing him of the extravagant folly of thus wasting on the dead, to whom the sacrifices were of no benefit, that which could be of so much use to the living. Consequently his influence materially helped to change the custom from cremation to ground interment. Later, after Hotouta's death, when several families had gone back to the old

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

habit of cremation, others exercised their influence with the Havasupais to lead them to abandon the old custom. These endeavors were all effective to a large extent, and, when Captain Navaho, the last great Kohot the Havasupais will ever have, died in 1898, he was buried instead of being cremated. Late in 1897, however, the son of Sinyela died, and though in many things Sinyela is one of the most progressive of the Havasupais, he and his brother took the boy's body across a horse, tied an axe to the corpse, and started up the canyon towards Topocobya. When they returned the axe had been used, the horse was strangled, and burned bones of human and equine bodies in a side gorge attest the hold the old superstitions and customs still have upon the Havasupai mind.

And again in the summer of 1899 — May or June — when the daughter of the present Kohot and wife of Lanoman (another son of Sinyela) died, Lanoman felt that nothing short of the old and time-honored method of cremation would be suitable for the daughter of the new chief and the wife of so smart and bright an Indian as himself. For Lanoman knew more English, perhaps, than any other Havasupai, and was afflicted with the not uncommon complaint of great self-esteem and conceit. Accordingly, the body was clothed in the finest blankets of the wardrobe, and many precious things were taken with it to the Havasu Canyon below Mooney Falls. Tenderly the body was lowered down the already nearly useless ladder, and after suitable wailing, the funeral pyre was built, the body placed thereupon, more wood heaped around and over the body, and then the whole fired. When the body was destroyed, the mourners returned, kicking

764 down the upper portion of the ladder as they did so,
768 that no other Havasupai should be burned there, and also that no white foot should again desecrate the sacred precincts of the lower Havasu Canyon. Then, that the favorite horse of the woman thus honored after her death should follow her to the underworld, it was taken to the edge of the plateau above, from which the descent to Bridal Veil and the upper portion of Mooney Falls is made, the wet strip of buckskin tied around its neck, and, as the cord dried and tightened, and the poor animal began to reel and totter in its death struggles, it was given a push, tumbled over the edge, and — instead of descending to the lower canyon at the foot of the Falls where the burned body was — fell on the shelves of limestone accretions which terrace the canyon at the side of the Falls, bounded from one terrace to another, and then, to the infinite disgust of the mourners, lodged there. And there it still remains — or what is left of it, for, as I passed by in July, 1899, though I could not see the animal, the frightful odor of the carrion ascended to the very heavens.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

764 ceased away thus saving the dreamer from death.

[562] There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a consequence of the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

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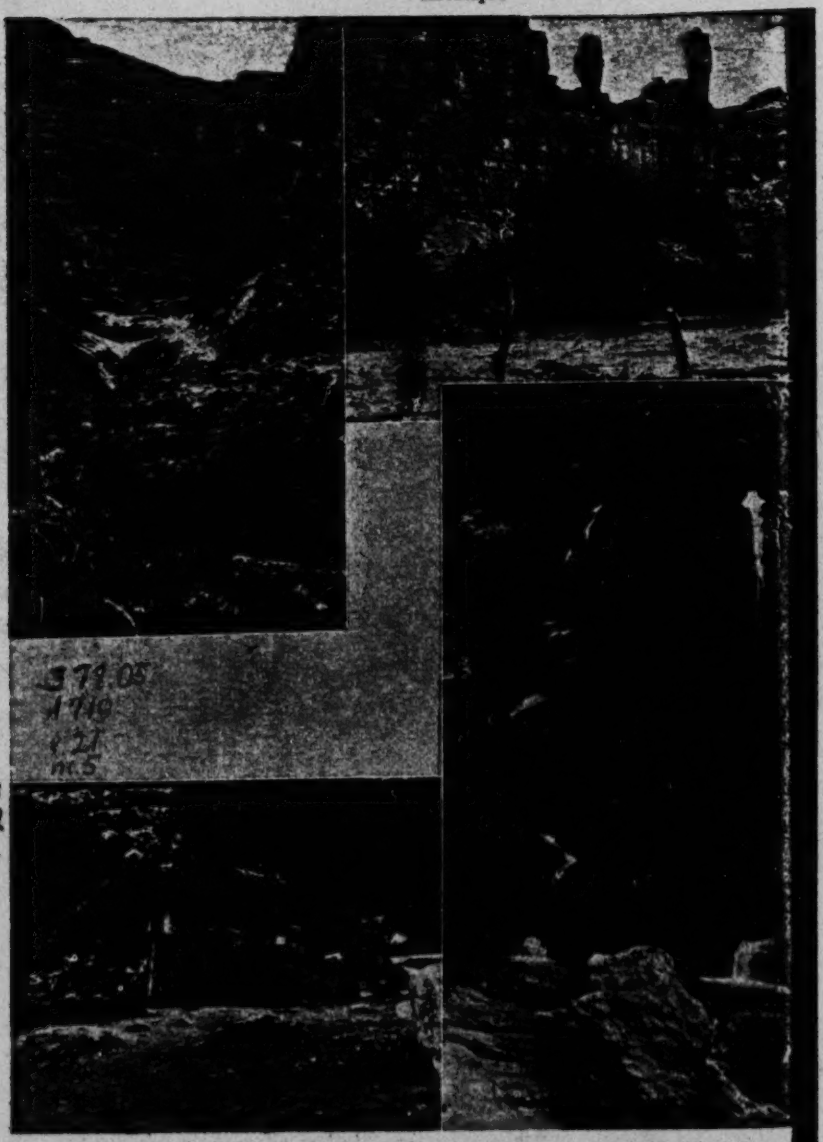

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Crematory Gulch in the lower "haunted" section of the canyon, where the dead were once cremated in the cavern along the sides of the gulch. Top right shows the Twin Gods opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai hogan and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall below Mooney Falls.

[p. 2]

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THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-pai a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-pai are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose [727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [191] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without

585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in

595 421 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

● 764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but

756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

[178] [535] [177]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

[766] [178]

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 177 [114] [535] Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourning songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764 [165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began, and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]